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ABSTRACT

The last decade has provided considerable research on the causes and effects of physical aggression in the family, but much less has been accomplished on the causes and effects of verbal/symbolic aggression. This verbal/symbolic aggression is defined as a communication, either verbal or nonverbal, intended to cause psychological pain to another person, or perceived as having that intent. This study investigated the frequency and correlates of verbal/symbolic aggression in a nationally representative sample of 5,232 American families. Verbal/symbolic aggression was measured by the Conflict Tactics Scales. Regardless of whether male or female respondents were the source of the data, it was found that husbands and wives engaged in about equal amounts of aggression. The probability of frequent verbal/symbolic aggression against a spouse tended to decrease with age and the number of children in the family, and to increase with the occurrence of alcohol abuse and the use of other drugs. Socioeconomic status and race were not found to be related to verbal aggression. Verbal aggression is part of a syndrome of abusive and problematic interpersonal relationships within the family. (A list of 45 references is provided, and 3 figures and 2 tables are also included.) (Author/AFL)

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH VERBAL AGGRESSION
BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES^{*1}

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Abstract

This study describes the frequency and correlates of verbal/symbolic aggression in a nationally representative sample of 5,232 American families. Verbal/symbolic aggression was measured by the Conflict Tactics Scales. Regardless of whether male or female respondents are the source of the data, it was found that husbands and wives engage in about equal amounts of verbal aggression. The probability of frequent verbal/symbolic aggression against a spouse tends to decrease with age and the number of children in the family, and to increase with the occurrence of alcohol abuse and use of other drugs. Socioeconomic status and race were not found to be related to verbal aggression. Verbal aggression is part of a syndrome of abusive and problematic interpersonal relationships within the family.

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The last decade has provided considerable research on the causes and effects of physical aggression in the family, but much less has been done on the causes and effects of verbal aggression. We have only limited data on such elementary propositions as the "folk theory" that although men may lash out at wives physically, women lash out verbally. The study to be reported addresses this issue and several other presumed antecedents of verbal aggression between spouses. The paper reports estimates of the incidence and frequency of verbal aggression by husbands and wives and the extent to which verbal aggression differs according to personal and family characteristics such as socioeconomic status, race, number of children, age, drinking, and drug use.

VERBAL AGGRESSION

A wide variety of terms have been used to refer to the behavior which is the focus of this paper. The most common term is "verbal aggression," but other terms include "psychological abuse" (Hoffman, 1984; Hornung et al, 1981, Murphy and O'Leary, 1989), "verbal abuse" (Mulcahy, 1979; Warner et al, 1984), "aggression" (Doob and Gross, 1968), "coercive response" (Patterson, 1982), "verbal hostility" (Buss and Durkee, 1957) and "emotional abuse" (Silbert and Pines, 1982). Still other terms are "mental abuse," "psychological aggression," "symbolic aggression," "emotional abuse," "emotional maltreatment," etc.. Often these terms are not explicitly defined, but they generally include both verbal and non-verbal symbolically meaningful acts. Given this diversity, no one definition will precisely apply, but the definition used for the purposes of this research probably encompasses the core of what has been previously investigated.

Definition of Verbal Aggression

For purposes of this paper, we will use the term "verbal/symbolic aggression" (sometimes shorted to just "verbal aggression") which is defined as:

A communication, either verbal or nonverbal, intended to cause psychological pain to another person, or perceived as having that intent.

Examples include name calling or nasty remarks (active, verbal), slamming a door or smashing something (active, non-verbal), and stony silence or sulking (passive, non-verbal).

Measures Of Verbal/Symbolic Aggression

Most research on verbal aggression used one of the following three methods: natural setting observations, contrived observations of aggression, and self report of aggressive behavior. Natural setting observations generally entail a non-participant observer recording behavior of a group such as school children at regular intervals (for an example see Walters, Pearce, and Dahms, 1957). This method permits

observation of events immediately prior to the aggressive act and has the advantage of observing these behaviors in a natural setting.

Natural observations are inefficient however because the relevant phenomena may or may not occur during the observation period and consequently some studies have used contrived situations to elicit aggressive responses on the part of the subject, both in natural and laboratory situations. Experiments in natural situations include using a car to block an intersection, and using the amount and timing of horn honking as the measure of aggression (Doob and Gross, 1968; Turner, Layton and Simons, 1975), exposing individuals to a frustrating phone call (Harris, 1974), cutting in front of subjects in a supermarket line (Harris, 1973; Harris, 1974), or exposing the subjects to modeled aggressive behavior (Harris and Samerotte, 1975). Laboratory experiments have been conducted by subjecting subjects to an abusive confederate (Mosher et al, 1968; Golin and Romanowski, 1977), administering controlled levels of alcohol (Rohsenow and Bachorowski, 1984), and giving subjects a frustrating game (Epstein et al, 1978). This type of research is useful for investigating patterns of response to an aggression eliciting situation.

A great deal of research on verbal aggression uses self reports (Hoffman, 1984; Buss and Durkee, 1957; Hornung et al, 1981; Billingham and Sack, 1987; Straus, 1974; Wotring and Greenberg, 1973; Chandler, 1989). The current study is of this form. The strength of the self report method is that it can provide data on aggression in a private setting such as the family, and also information on the family and other factors that may influence the occurrence of aggression.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH USE OF VERBAL/SYMBOLIC AGGRESSION

Socioeconomic Status

Our review of the literature did not find any studies that directly addressed the relationship between socioeconomic status and verbal aggression. However, previous research has found a negative correlation between physical abuse of spouses and children and occupational prestige and income (Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980). This relationship might also apply to verbal/symbolic aggression against spouses. Since the findings on physical aggression apply most strongly to severe assaults on a spouse or child, and since verbal aggression may be more similar to minor physical assaults than to severe physical assaults, there may be no significant relationship between socioeconomic status and verbal aggression. To investigate this issue we tested the following hypothesis:

H₀ 1. There is no relationship between the socioeconomic status of the family and the rate of verbal/symbolic aggression.

Age

Age has been shown to be a strong predictor of physical aggression between spouses (Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980). Younger couples

generally engage in the most physical aggression and the incidence of physical aggression decreases steadily with age. This might also apply to verbal aggression. If, however, verbal aggression replaces physical aggression, we would expect that as physical aggression decreases with age, verbal aggression will increase. On the other hand, if couples become generally less aggressive with age, we would expect to see a decrease in verbal aggression with age. To investigate this issue we tested the hypothesis that:

Ho 2. The older the respondent, the lower the rate of verbal aggression.

Race

There is conflicting data on the relationship between race and aggression. In an experiment designed to measure verbal aggression in response to a frustrating phone call, no significant differences were found in the reactions of Anglo-americans and Chicano-Americans (Harris, 1974). In a study of dating violence, nonwhite subjects (primarily Asian in the population studied) experienced less physical and verbal aggression than white subjects (Lane and Gibbs, 1985). Another study addressing aggressiveness of teenagers found that the black teens were generally less aggressive than white teens. Once aggression had occurred however, the blacks were more likely to respond with physical aggression (Luchterhand and Weller, 1976). Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) and Straus and Smith (1990) found blacks to be much more likely than whites to engage in physical aggression against a spouse. To what extent this applies to verbal aggression against a spouse is unknown. We therefore tested the following hypothesis:

Ho 3. There is no significant difference between blacks and whites in the rate of verbal aggression against spouses.

Gender

A review of over 150 articles found little support for the folk theory that men are generally more physically aggressive and that women display more indirect or displaced aggression (Frodi, Macaulay, and Thome, 1977). In an experiment designed to elicit verbally aggressive responses, similar amounts of aggression were displayed by both male and female subjects (Golin and Rovanowski, 1977). In other experimental situations, such as horn honking at a car which stops too long, men have been found to be more symbolically aggressive than women (Doob and Gross, 1968; Harris, 1973). The contradictory evidence leads us to hypothesize that:

Ho 4. There is no significant difference between husbands and wives in the rate of verbal aggression.

Alcohol and Drugs

Previous research generally has shown alcohol use is associated with increased levels of aggression (Bond and Lader, 1987; Kaufman Kantor and

Straus, 1987; Gustafson, 1987; Pihl and Zacchia, 1986; Steele, 1986), although Rohsenow and Bachorowski (1984) found contradictory findings. Peltoniemi (1980) found that most calls to police concerning family violence are associated with use of alcohol and unrestrained verbal aggression. We therefore hypothesized that:

H_o 5. The higher the incidence of drunkenness, the greater the rate of verbal aggression against a spouse.

The research on the relationship between drug use and aggression is less clear and more limited than that regarding alcohol. Illicit drug use has been shown to be related to theft, but not to interpersonal aggression (Kandel, Fagan and Davies, 1986). Khantzian (1985) theorizes that some drug addicts select certain drugs, opiates for example, for their mitigating effects on feelings of rage and aggression. The limited amount of previous research on the effects of drugs and aggression, especially verbal aggression, have not yet established a conclusive relationship. None the less, given the established relationship between alcohol and physical aggression we hypothesize:

H_o 6. The greater the frequency of drug use, the greater the rate of verbal aggression.

METHODS

Sample

A unique aspect of this study is that it is based on a large and nationally representative sample of American couples interviewed for the National Family Violence Resurvey (Straus and Gelles, 1986;1990). Interviews with the 6,002 respondents were conducted by telephone in the summer of 1985 (for information regarding the validity of telephone interviews in this survey, see Straus and Gelles, 1986:472). To be eligible for inclusion, the respondent had to be age 18 or older and either (1) presently married, (2) presently living as a male-female couple, or (3) a single parent with a child under 18 living with the parent, including divorced or separated parents. The response rate was 84%. Further information on the sampling design and the characteristics of the sample is given in Straus and Gelles (1986;1990).

Verbal/Symbolic Aggression Measure

The Conflict Tactics Scale or CTS (Straus, 1979; 1990) was used to measure verbal/symbolic aggression. The CTS measures three tactics used in interpersonal conflict within the family: reasoning, verbal aggression, and physical aggression. The CTS begins with the following introduction: "No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other person or just have spats or fights because they're in a bad mood or tired or for some other reason. They also use many different ways of trying to settle their differences. I'm going to read a list of things that you and your partner might do when you have an argument. I would like you to tell me how many times in the past 12 months you:

Insulted or swore at him/her
Sulked and/or refused to talk about it
Stomped out of the room or house or yard
Did or said something to spite him/her
Threatened to hit him/her or throw something at him/her
Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something

The response categories were none, one incident, twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, and 21 or more times coded as 0, 1, 2, 4, 8, 15, and 25 respectively. The verbal aggression index is the sum of these frequency codes.

Statistical Analysis

Logistic regression ("logit") was the primary statistical tool. The independent variables are the respondent's age and number of children, gender, race, education, occupation, income, drinking, drug use, level of conflict with the partner.

Logit, rather than OLS regression, was used because at least some verbal aggression is extremely common in marriage. The important issue, both theoretically and clinically (Jacobson and Revenstorf, 1988), is the occurrence of a high level of verbal aggression. We therefore decided to use verbal aggression scores at or above the 75th percentile. The dichotomization at the 75th percentile is intended to identify very aggressive individuals. The split at that point also has a statistical basis because, after the 75th percentile, the cases "string out" and produce a long semi-continuous series of outliers.

Controls For Conflict and Physical Aggression

The level of conflict between the couple, and also physical aggression, are associated with verbal aggression and therefore need to be controlled in the logistic analysis.

Physical aggression. Verbal aggression and physically aggressive acts, such as slapping and punching, are correlated (Straus, 1974; Infante, Chandler and Rudd 1989). Logit permits one to control for this confounding. The variable used to control for physical aggression was coded as no violence, minor violence (e.g. slapping), and severe violence (e.g. punching, kicking, hitting with an object).

The findings presented in graph form were computed by setting the partial logit coefficient for physical aggression equal to "no violence." Thus, the results indicate the relationship of various family characteristics to verbal aggression for families that did not also engage in physical aggression during the year covered by the study.² In addition, to illustrate the partial relationships, one of the analyses is presented with separate lines plotted for each of the three violence groups (none, minor violence, severe violence).

Couple conflict. We assumed that couples who have a high level of conflict engage in more verbal aggression. As will be shown below, the results confirmed that assumption. Since conflict is also associated with the family characteristics used as the independent variables, relationships between these variables and verbal aggression might be "spurious." A measure of couple conflict was therefore included in the logit model.³

INCIDENCE OF VERBALLY AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR

Table 1 shows that husband-to-wife and wife-to-husband verbal aggression occur with relatively equal frequency. The median is 3-4 such incidents for both spouses. The means are 10.0 for husband-to-wife verbal aggression and 10.3 for wife-to-husband. These findings support the hypothesis of no significant difference and therefore are contrary to the folk theory assumption that husbands and wives engage in differing modes of aggression. Women, contrary to this widely held view, do not verbally aggress against their spouses more than men.

(Table 1 about here)

The correlation of between the dichotomized measures of husband-to-wife verbal aggression and wife-to-husband verbal aggression is .67. This strong correlation probably indicates that when one spouse engages in verbal aggression, the other usually responds in kind.

ANTECEDENTS OF VERBAL AGGRESSION

(Table 2 about here)

Physical Aggression

Physical aggression was included in the analysis as a control for spuriousness, not as a substantive issue. The relationship between verbal aggression and physical aggression is complex and needs to be examined using longitudinal data such as that reported by Murphy and O'Leary (1989). Consequently, here we will only note that the logit coefficient and t test in row one of Table 2 shows that in this study, like the Murphy and O'Leary study and the earlier study by Straus (1974), there is a strong relationship between the two types of aggression.

Socioeconomic Status

In addition to the substantive issue of whether SES is associated with verbal aggression, it is also important to include SES in the model tested to control for possible confounding of the other variables with SES.⁴ The coefficients in Table 2 show that family SES is not significantly related to either husband-to-wife or wife-to-husband verbal aggression. Before accepting Hypothesis 1 (no relationship between SES and verbal aggression), it seemed advisable to use two further approaches.

The first of these additional analyses examined each of the indicators in socioeconomic status index (occupation, education, and income) independently for their relationship to verbal aggression. No significant relationships were found for any of the SES indicators. The second additional approach examined the possible interaction effect of disparity in the husband's and wife's education and disparity between husband's and wife's occupation. Again, no significant interaction effects were found in either case. For a summary of the procedure used to examine interaction effects, see Smith (1988).

Race

The logit analyses using race (dichotomized as white/nonwhite) revealed no relationship to verbal aggression and therefore requires acceptance of Hypothesis 3. To avoid an excessive number of independent variables in the logistic regression analysis race was dropped from the logit analysis shown in Table 2.

Couple Conflict

Not surprisingly, Table 2 shows a strong positive relationship between the level of conflict and the probability of verbal aggression. The relationship is also plotted in Figure 1. As in the case of physical aggression, the reason for including the level of conflict in the logit model was not to test the hypothesis that conflict and verbal aggression are related. Rather, it was included to control for possible confounding of conflict with the other independent variables. By including the level of conflict in the model, we can conclude that each of the other seven variables in Table 2 has a significant relationship to verbal aggression, net of any overlap with conflict. This is illustrated by Figure 1 which shows that regardless of the level of conflict, the older the respondent, the lower the probability of verbal aggression.

(Figure 1 about here)

Age and Number of Children

The significant logit regression t values for age and number of children indicate that couples tend to become less verbally aggressive toward each other with age. This relationship is shown in Figure 1, along with the relationship between verbal aggression and couple conflict. The number of children in the family also has a mitigating effect on the incidence of verbal aggression, even when age is controlled. The more children and the higher the ages of the husband and wife, the lower the probability of verbal aggression occurring.

The decrease in the probability of verbal aggression with age and children probably reflects a number of factors. It is well documented that physical aggression of all types decreases with age, and it is therefore not surprising that this also applies to verbal aggression. Evidently people mellow with age. More is probably involved, however. One possibility is that, in a family with many children, the increased

time demands on the part of the children may reduce the amount of contact time between spouses in which verbal aggression can occur.

Another possibility arose when we examined the finding (data not shown) that the use of reasoning (as measured by the reasoning scale of the Conflict Tactics Scales) and the level of conflict itself, also decrease with age. One interpretation for these decreases, as well as for the decrease in verbal aggression is that as a marriage continues, couples adapt to conflict by withdrawing or disengaging (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, Feldman, 1966). This produces a lower level of manifest conflict (even though the underlying conflicts may not have changed) and therefore less "need" to use verbal aggression, physical aggression, and reasoning.

Gender Differences In Reporting

Although husband-to-wife and wife-to-husband verbal aggression occur with the same general frequency, the significant positive logit coefficients in the sixth row of Table 2 show that women tend to report more verbal aggression by their husband, and even more by themselves. The mean husband-to-wife verbal aggression score, as reported by women is 11.4, and as reported by men, 8.3. Similarly, the mean wife-to-husband verbal aggression score as reported by women is 11.4; and as reported by men, 8.8.

These gender differences in retrospective reporting of aggressive behavior suggest that men tend to minimize the incidence of aggressive behavior within the family.⁵ They may be deliberately concealing things, or they may simply be less sensitive to the occurrence of verbal aggression. Whatever the reason, these findings are consistent with a considerable body of research which shows that men are less "self-revealing," not only to interviewers, but also to their spouses (Jourard, 1961, 1964). This raises the question of whether the relationship of the other independent variables to verbal aggression is affected by the presumed under-reporting of verbal aggression by men. We therefore plotted all relationships separately for male and female respondents. In all cases we found the same relationships, regardless of whether the results are based on data obtained from men or women.

Alcohol and Drug Use

(Figure 2 about here)

Alcohol and drug abuse were used as independent variables because we believe that in many instances the verbally aggressive behavior is preceded by substance abuse. This causal model is consistent with previous experimental work on alcohol and aggression (Rohsenow and Bachorowski, 1984), and with self-reports of the sequence of events preceding instances of wife-beating (Kaufman, Kantor and Straus, 1987).

Since our interest is in alcohol abuse rather than drinking per se, it was measured as the number of times drunk in the preceding year. For use of other drugs, we asked "In the past year, how often would you guess you got high on marijuana or some other drug?" The logit coefficients

in Table 2 and the plot lines in Figure 2 show that as the number of occasions of drunkenness in the preceding year increased, the probability of engaging in verbal aggression dramatically increased. Figure 2 also illustrates the parallel results obtained using data from female and male respondents. These results are consistent with Hypothesis 5.

(Figure 3 about here)

The eighth row of Table 2 and Figure 3 show that, contrary to Hypothesis 6, use of marijuana and other drugs is associated with a higher probability of wife to husband verbal aggression, although the relationship is not quite as strong as that of alcohol. Figure 3 also illustrates the previously mentioned strong relationship between verbal aggression and physical aggression.

These findings need to be interpreted with caution. The problem goes beyond the fact that the data are cross-sectional, and therefore do not provide evidence on the direction of the effect. Even when it is assumed that the drinking comes first (as in Kaufman, Kantor and Straus, 1987), the underlying motivational processes do not necessarily follow that sequence. In fact, we and others have argued in regard to drinking and physical aggression that many persons drink in order to provide themselves with an excuse for subsequent aggressive behavior (Coleman and Straus, 1983; Kaufman Kantor and Straus, 1987).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of the incidence of verbal/symbolic aggression between spouses in a nationally representative sample of 5,232 couples found that the probability of a high level of verbal/symbolic aggression against a spouse tends to increase with the occurrence of alcohol abuse and use of other drugs and to decrease with age and the number of children in the family.

Contrary to the belief that women engage in more verbal aggression than men, we found that wives do not use verbal aggression more than husbands. In addition, we found that race and socioeconomic status were not significantly related to verbal aggression.

The statistical analysis controlled for confounding with several other variables which could have produced spurious findings, including the amount of conflict between the couple and the occurrence of physical aggression. Although we can rule out spuriousness due to confounding with other variables in the model, the use of cross-sectional data leaves the question of causal direction ambiguous. This is not as great a problem for variables such as gender, age, and number of children as it is for the other variables examined. Specifically, although we found that the probability of verbal aggression becomes greater as the level of conflict, physical aggression, and substance abuse increases, one can just as plausibly argue that increases in the latter variables arose due to higher levels of verbal aggression. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that whatever the causal direction, verbal aggression is part of a syndrome of abusive and problematic interpersonal relationships within the family.

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FOOTNOTES

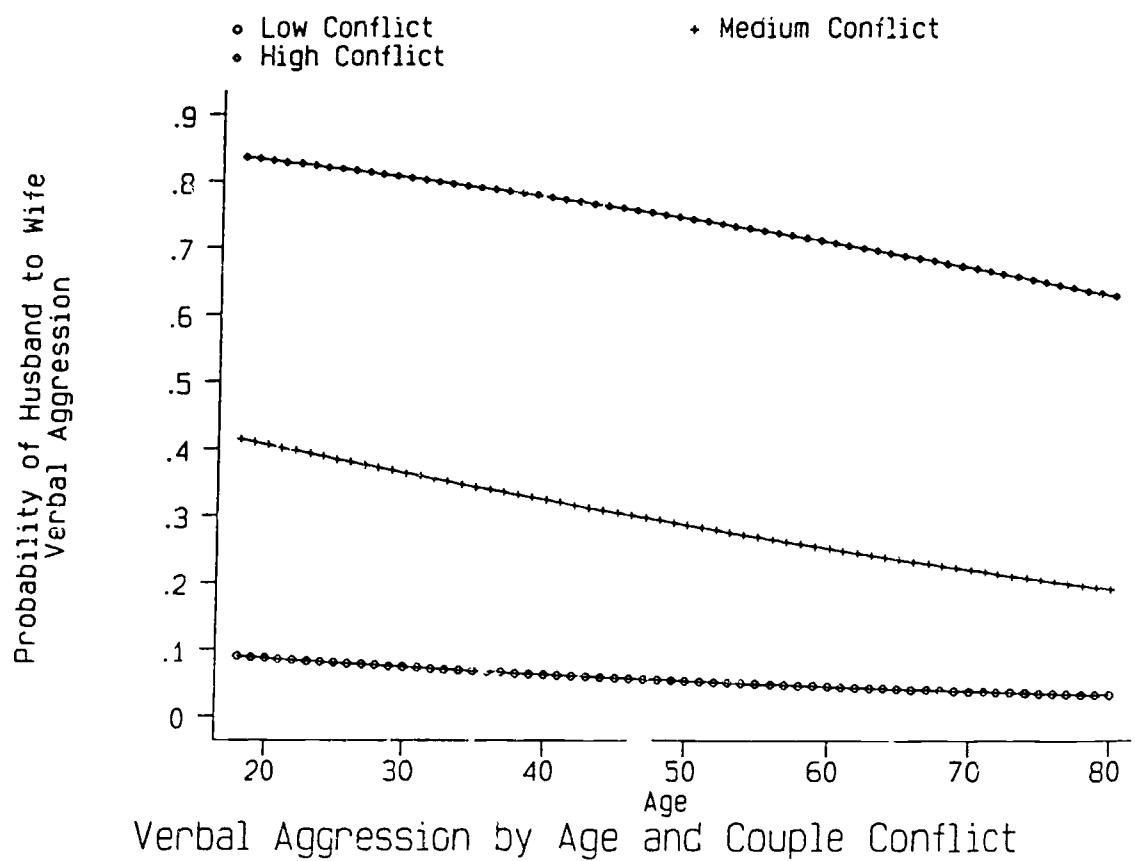
2. An alternative method of controlling for the confounding of physical and verbal aggression would be to omit from the analysis couples who engaged in physical assaults. This method, however, has the disadvantage of eliminating approximately 10% of the sample, and therefore running the risk of a less representative sample. To investigate this issue we ran analyses controlling for physical aggression by omitting violent couples, and by specifying no violence in the logit analysis. There was little difference, and we therefore decided to proceed with the logistic regressions reported in this paper.

3. The index was computed from five items which ask how often the respondent disagrees with his or her spouse in regard to managing money; cooking, cleaning or repairing the house; social activities and entertaining; affection and sex relations; and things about the children. See Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) for data on the reliability and validity of this measure. The index was computed by averaging the frequency of disagreement (provided that respondent answered at least four of the questions), thus giving comparable conflict indices for those couples with and without children.

4. The SES index was constructed by using SPSS-X to compute a principle components analysis of the following five indicators: Trieman occupational prestige score of husband and wife, education of husband and wife, and family income. The analysis revealed a single component, which accounted for 58 percent of the variance of these items. The FACSCORE procedure was then used to output a standardized factor weighted sum of these items.

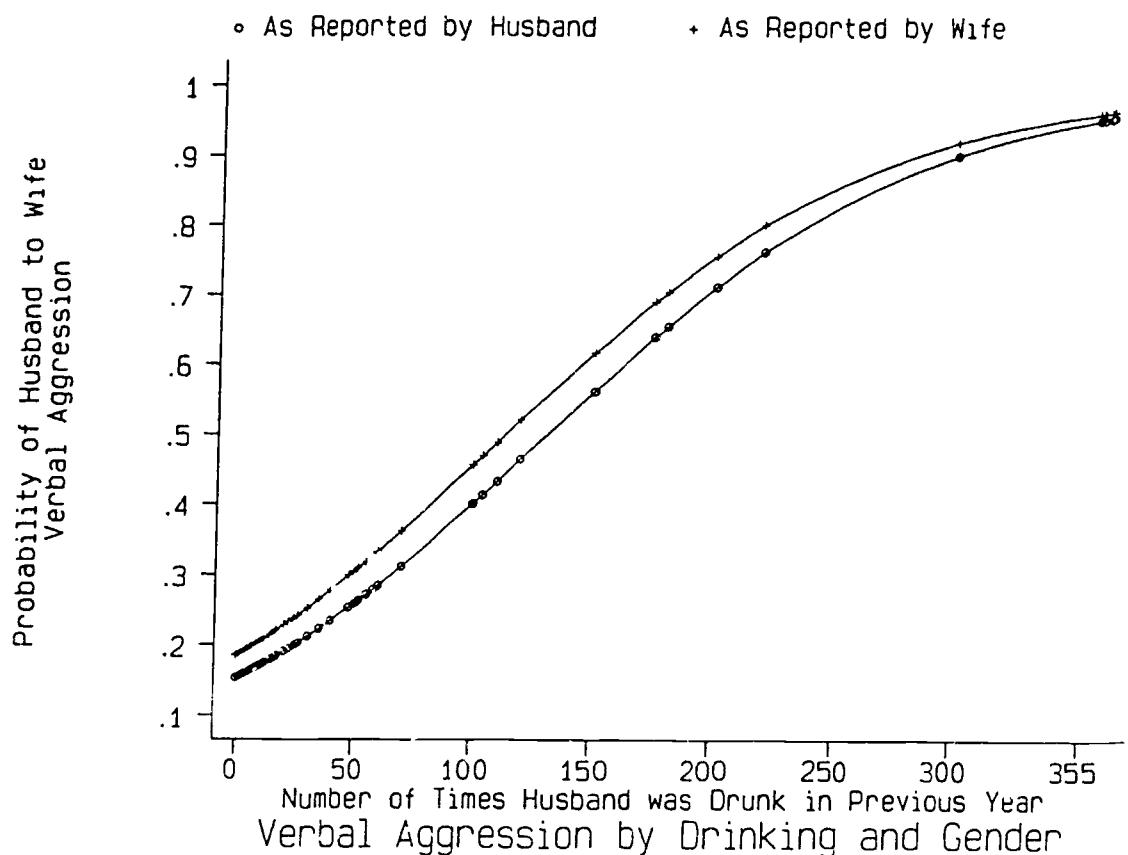
5. Other interpretations of the data are possible, i.e. that women exaggerate the incidence of verbal aggression or that the "true incidence" is somewhere in between the reports of men and women. The discrepancy may not be the effects of a conscious decision on the part of the respondent to exaggerate or minimize the behavior. Rather, it may be different interpretations of men and women as to what constitutes "yelling" and "stony silence."

Figure 1.



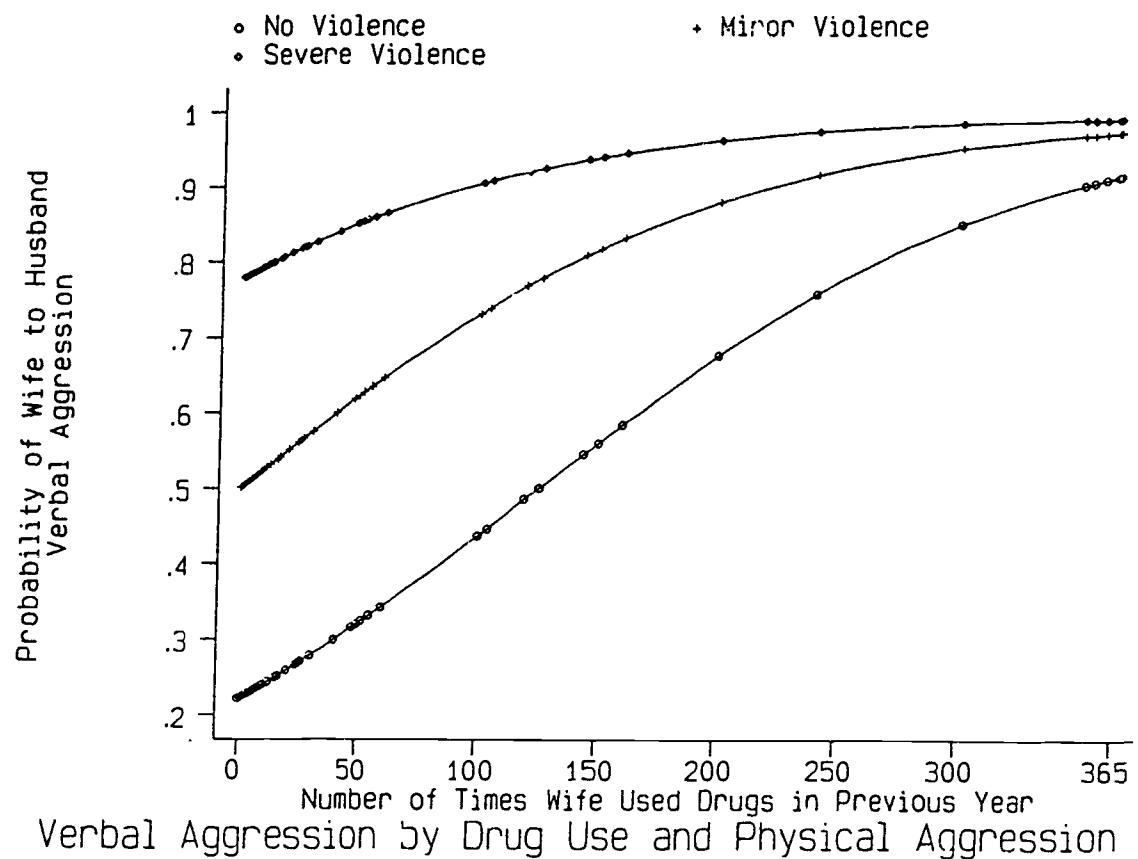
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Figure 2.



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Figure 3.



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Table 1. Frequency of Verbal/Symbolic Aggression Between Spouses

Score	<u>Percent Distribution Of Verbal/Symbolic Aggression</u>	
	Husband-to-Wife (N=5232)	Wife-to-Husband (N=5232)
0	26.05	25.21
1-2	15.90	15.72
3-4	11.41	12.27
5-6	7.14	6.60
7-8	7.22	6.75
9-10	5.00	4.87
11-12	3.75	4.05
13-20	8.98	9.27
21-30	5.83	5.89
31-40	3.27	3.53
41-50	1.99	2.02
51 thru 150	3.55	3.82
Mean	10.02	10.25

Table 2. Logistic Regression Of Verbal/Symbolic Aggression

Independent Variable and Unit of Measurement	<u>Verbal/Symbolic Aggression</u>			
	<u>Husband-to-Wife</u>		<u>Wife-to-Husband</u>	
	Coef	SE	Coef	SE
Physical Aggression 0=None 1=Minor 2=Severe	1.40**	.094	1.25**	.082
Couple Conflict 0 - 4	0.99**	.060	0.85**	.058
Socioeconomic Status Z Score	-0.00	.042	0.00	.041
Number of Children 0-8	-0.13**	.037	-0.06	.036
Age of Respondent 18-83	-0.22**	.003	-0.02**	.003
Gender of Respondent Female = 1	0.23**	.082	0.43**	.082
Respondent Drunk 0-365	0.01**	.003	0.03**	.009
Respondent High on Drugs 0-365	0.00	.001	0.01**	.003
Logit Constant	-1.73**	.173	-1.62**	.181

* P<.05; ** P<.01